

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ERDA-05 H-01 INR-07

L-02 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01

SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 CU-02 OES-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 898

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 250

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORVA

CINCLANT

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 1204

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR PARM EGEN SGEN XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-FEBURARY 17-21

1. SUMMARY: LAST WEEK'S PROGRESS CONTINUED THIS WEEK, AS THE SOVIETS BEGAN TO APPLY PRESSURE FOR MOVEMENT IN SELECTED SUBJECT AREAS, WHILE MAINTAINING THEIR RIGID

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POSITIONS ON MILITARY SUBJECTS AND MUCH OF BASKET III.

PARAGRAPH 3 (ON REFRAINING FROM USE OF ARMED FORCES) OF ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL AND THE EIGHTH PRINCIPLE (SELF-DETERMINATION) WERE REGISTERED, AS WELL AS BASKET III TEXT ON DISTRIBUTION OF EMBASSY BULLETINS, WHICH COMPLETED THE SECTION ON PRINTED INFORMATION. AN ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPH ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS WAS INFORMALLY AGREED, AND WORKING GROUPS ON MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION AND FOLLOW-UP BOTH REGISTERED TEXTS WHICH HAVE BEEN UNDER DISCUSSION FOR SOME TIME. COMPROMISE TEXT ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN EUROPE WAS FORMALLY TABLED FOR INCLUSION IN BASKET II PREAMBLE. IN CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE, SWEDISH REP PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORKING GROUP ON FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III. FIVEN EC-9 HESITANCY, WE BELIEVE THERE WILL BE MORE ARGUMENT IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE ON WHEN TO ESTABLISH A SEPARATE WORKING GROUP ON THESE SUBJECTS. IF SUCH A GROUP IS SET UP BEFORE EASTER BREAK, IT WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BEGIN WITH GENERAL DEBATE ON SHAPE OF FINAL DOCUMENT AND WILL NOT REPEAT NOT GET INTO STAGE III SCENARIO ETC. UNTIL AFTER THE EASTER RECESS. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--THIRD PARAGRAPH OF ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL (NUF), WAS PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED. THIS PARA EXCLUDES THE INVASION OR ATTACKING OF ANOTHER PARTICIPATING STATE, OR ANY OTHER USE OF ARMED FORCES WHICH IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UN CHARTER OR THE CSCE PRINCIPLES. ROMANIANS SUBSEQUENTLY WITHDREW THEIR OBJECTIONS TO THE EIGHTH PRINCIPLE (SELF-DETERMINATION), AND THIS WAS ALSO REGISTERED, WITH SEVERAL RESERVATIONS TO EFFECT THAT BALANCING PROVISION ON PRESERVING THE UNITY OF A STATE WOULD HAVE TO BE ADDED LATER TO FOURTH PRINCIPLE (TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY) IF EIGHTH PRINCIPLE IS TO BE RETAINED AS REGISTERED. DRAFTING OF NINTH PRINCIPLE (COOPERATION AMONG STATES) PROCEEDED, WORK ON SENTENCE ON INTERESTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND NARROWING DIFFERENCES IN LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT WAS HELD IN ABEYANCE PENDING CLARAFICATION OF THESE ISSUES IN BASKET II, AND NO PROGRESS WAS MADE ON THE CONCLUDING

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SENTENCE, WHICH SHOULD SUM UP THE GOALS OF COOPERATION. MEANWHILE, NEUTRALS CONTINUED TO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES IN OPPOSITION TO QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS (QRR) SAVING CLAUSE TABLED LAST DECEMBER BY FRANCE. NEUTRALS ARE INVITING REPS OF FOUR-POWER DELEGATIONS INDIVIDUALLY TO EXPLAIN THEIR VIEW OF QRR TEXT, IN PREPARATION FOR POSSIBLE TABLING OF AN ALTERNATIVE VERSION.

3. MILITARY SECURITY--SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED EFFORTS TO REMOVE BRACKETS FROM UK DRAFT TEXT OF DECEMBER 18 ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CSCE AND ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS. DESPITE ATTEMPTS SPEARHEADED BY YUGOSLAVIA TO ACHIEVE MENTAL REGISTRATION OF AT LEAST PART OF THE TEXT, SOVIETS APPEAR TO HAVE STRICT INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS SUBJECT AS WELL AS OTHER ASPECTS OF CBM'S, AND VIRTUALLY NO PROGRESS WAS REGISTERED. WITHIN NATO CAUCUS, MOST REPS EXPRESSED HIGHTENED CONCERN ABOUT DIRECTION DUTCH NAC PROPOSAL FOR ANNUAL QUOTA OF MANEUVERS SEEMED TO BE TAKING IN POLADS DISCUSSION IN BRUSSELS--I.E., POSSIBLE EXTABLISHMENT OF SEPARATE THRESHOLDS FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS FOR NATO AND WARSAW PACT, SO AS TO HAVE APPROXIMATELY EQUAL NUMBER OF NOTIFICATIONS PER YEAR. FRENCH REP STRONGLY CRITICAL BLOC-TO-BLOC APPEARANCE OF ANY SUCH OUTCOME, AND ALL REPS JOINED IN STRESSING NEED FOR CONFIDENTIALITY OF THIS NATO STUDY, AS WELL AS DESIRABILITY OF FOCUSING STUDY IN CAUCUS IN GENEVA.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY--ROMANIAN-SOVIET COMPROMISE TEXT ON "DEVELOPING COUNTRIES" ISSUE IN BASKET II PREAMBLE WAS FORMALLY TABLED. MANY AMENDMENTS WERE PROPOSED BUT MOST OF THESE OF MINOR CLARIFYING NATURE WHICH SHOULD LEAD TO A MORE SATISFACTORY TEXT FROM US STANDPOINT. EC-9 ARE IN ANY EVENT IN NO RUSH TO APPROVE TEXT BECAUSE THEY WISH TO LINK FINAL AGREEMENT WITH ACTION ON RECIPROCITY ISSUE. USDEL HAS CONTINUED NATO CAUCUS DISCUSSIONS ON REMAINING DIFFERENCES IN RESOLUTION ON TRADE OBSTACLES AND HAS ALSO SCHEDULED MEETINGS WITH SOVIETS ON THESE MATTERS. IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, SOVIETS AGREED WITH ROMANIANS ON LANGUAGE ON "ACESS TO SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL

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ACHIEVEMENTS". SOVIETS NOW STRONGLY INSIST ON INSERTING THIS ACCESS LANGUAGE IN A PREVIOUSLY AGREED TEXT, A DEVICE FOR DELETING OR DETACHING AGREED PASSAGE REFERRING TO "DIRECT CONTACTS" AMONG SCIENTISTS. WESTERN DELEGATIONS ARE RESISTING THIS MORE. SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER ECNOMIC AREAS REGISTERED BRIEF PARAGRAPH ON REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES OF MIGRANT WORKERS, AFTER SOVIETS DROPPED INSISTENCE OF REFERENCE TO BAKSET III REUNIFICATION TEXT.

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INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 251

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

SUDKSA/AMEMBASSY SOFIA 256

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORVA

CINCLANT

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 1204

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--WESTERN REPS IN HUMAN
CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE CONCENTRATED PRIMARILY ON DEVELOPING
COMPROMISE POSITIONS BON THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT, TRAVEL,
TOURISM AND YOUTH. BY WEEK'S END AN INTRICATE SET OF
PROPOSALS, DESIGNED TO RESOLVE THE TRANSLATION
AND OTHER PROBLEMS IN THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT, WAS
HANDLED TO THE SOVIETS, AND A NEUTRAL-SPONSORED DRAFT
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TEXT ON TRAVEL WAS FLOATED. EASTERN RESPONSES SHOULD COME EARLY NEXT WEEK. INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED A TEXT ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF EMBASSY BULLETINS AS THE FINAL PARAGRAPH OF THE SECTION ON PRINTED INFORMATION. IT ALSO REACHED INFORMAL AGREEMENT, SUBJECT TO SOME PROCEDURAL PROBLEMS AND A WESTERN RESERVATION, ON THE FIRST TWO PARAGRAPHS OF THE PAPER ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE, TEMPO OF WORK BOGGED DOWN WHEN SOVIETS RENEGED ON A PREVIOUSLY-AGREED INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE FOR TEXT ON IMPROVEMENT OF FACILITIES FOR CULTURAL CONTACTS AND EXCHANGES. SOVIET POSTURE ALSO STIFFENED IN EDUCATIONAL SUBCOMMITTEE, WHERE THEY PROPOSED A TEXT COMMITTING PARTICIPATING STATES TO ELIMINATE FROM THEIR SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS "-ANY IDEAS ADVOCATING MILITARISM, NEO-NAZISM, CULT OF VIOLENCE, RACIAL OR NATIONAL SUPERIORITY, HOSTILITY AND HATRED BETWEEN PEOPLES". THIS TEXT APPEARED FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS PLOY TO COUNTER WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR DIRECT CONTACTS AMONG SCHOLARS IN FIELD OF TEACHING METHODS AND MATERIALS. NEGATIVE SOVIET POSITION ON DIRECT CONTACTS IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SEE ABOVE) IS UNDOUBTEDLY RELATED TO THEIR SENSITIVITIES ON SUBJECT IN BASKET III.

6. MEDITERRANEAN--WORKING GROUP REGISTERED REMAINDER OF PARAGRAPH RELATING CSCE PRINCIPLES TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA AS A WHOLE. SENTENCE STATES THAT PARTICIPATING STATES INTEND TO CONDUCT THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES "IN THE SPIRIT OF THE CSCE PRINCIPLES.

7. FOLLOW-UP--WORKING GROUP REGISTERED TWO ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPHS FOR PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION ON FOLLOW-UP WHEN SOVIETS DROPPED THEIR INSISTENCE ON A PREAMBULAR REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER CONFERENCE OR CONFERENCES IN THE FUTURE. SOVIETS EXERTED EXCEPTIONAL PRESSURE AND MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY TO ACHIEVE LATE-EVENING AGREEMENT ON THESE PARAGRAPHS, WHICH HAVE BEEN UNDER DISCUSSION SINCE NOVEMBER. NEWLY REGISTERED PARAS REITERATE PARTICIPATING STATES' DETERMINATION TO IMPLEMENT CSCE DECISIONS, AND RECOGNIZE THE NEED
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TO CONTINUE THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS BEGUN BY CSCE.

8. STAGE III--SWEDISH REP IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE (CC) PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORKING GROUP ON ORGANIZATION OF FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III, WITH SUPPORT FOR VIRTUALLY ALL NEUTRALS AND SOVIET BLOC.

IRISH REP, SPEAKING FOR EC-9 ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE THAT CSCE SHOULD BEGIN TO DISCUSS FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III SOON, BUT THOUGHT MATTER SHOULD BE DISCUSSED FURTHER IN CC BEFORE FORMAL DECISION IS TAKEN TO SET UP WORKING GROUP. SOVIETS WERE SURPRISINGLY FIRM IN THEIR INSISTENCE ON A COMMITMENT TO ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORKING GROUP, BUT NO FINAL DECISION WAS TAKEN, AND DEBATE WILL CONTINUE NEXT WEEK. COMPROMISE SOLUTION WILL PROBABLY BE TO SCHEDULE ADDITIONAL MEETINGS FOR DISCUSSION BY EITHER CC OR A WORKING GROUP. INITIALLY, WE EXPECT FURTHER CC DEBATE ON WHEN TO ESTABLISH WORKING GROUP. IF LATTER IS SET UP, EC-9 WILL, IN ALL LIKELIHOOD, INSIST ON DEALING FIRST WITH SHAPE OF FINAL DOCUMENT. RESULTING GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE IS UNLIKELY TO SETTLE ANYTHING BEFORE EASTER BREAK, AND STAGE III SCENARIO, ARRANGEMENTS, ETC. ARE UNLIKELY TO BE ADDRESSED AT ALL UNTIL SOMETIME AFTER POST-EASTER RESUMPTION OF STAGE II.

9. COMMENT: THE PRINCIPAL QUESTION IN THE MINDS OF MOST WESTERN DELEGATES THIS WEEK WAS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CURRENT SOVIET TACTICS. IN THE WAKE OF WILSON'S VISIT TO MOSCOW AND THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH GROMYKO, WESTERN AND NEUTRAL REPS OBSERVED SOVIET BEHAVIOR CLOSELY FOR CLUES TO THEIR INTENTIONS. ONE SOVIET DELOFF TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT THE SOVIETS HAD DECIDED TO MOVE AHEAD WITH THE SUBJECTS WHERE THEY HAD NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS, AND THE PRINCIPAL MANIFESTATION OF THIS EFFORT WAS CLEARLY THE HIGH-POWERED WESTERN PUSH FOR REGISTRATION OF TWO PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS ON FOLLOW-UP. WHETHER OR NOT THE CONFERENCE WILL SEE FURTHER EXAMPLES OF THIS TACTIC IN THE DAYS AHEAD, IT REMAINS EVIDENT THAT THE SOVIETS ARE AS SELECTIVE AS THEY ALWAYS HAVE BEEN IN CHOOSING SUBJECTS WHERE PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. THEY ARE STILL NOT PREPARED TO BUDGE ON MILITARY SUBJECTS, AND

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REMAIN INFLEXIBLE IN THEIR APPROACH TO BASKET III.

10. DESPITE THIS DISCOURAGING SOVIET ATTITUDE, THERE IS A WIDESPREAD AND GROWING DESIRE TO BEGIN TO FOCUS ON THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE, AND THE SWEDISH PROPOSAL TO SET UP A WORKING GROUP ON THE FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III WAS A GENUINE MANIFESTATION OF THE STRONGLY FELT IMPETUS TO BRING THE CONFERENCE TO A CONCLUSION THIS SUMMER. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL MISGIVINGS OVER SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE, ESPECIALLY ON MILITARY SUBJECTS, WERE NOT STRONG ENOUGH TO OVERRIDE THIS GENERAL THRUST AND SOME WESTERN DELEGATES EVEN EXPRESSED PRIVATELY THEIR SATISFACTION WITH

THE SWEDISH PROPOSAL.

11. THE STRONG SOVIET PRESSURES FOR PROGRESS ON FOLLOW-UP, AND THEIR INSISTENCE ON MOVING TOWARD DISCUSSION OF STAGE III, APPEARED TO FORM PART OF THEIR OVERALL EFFORT TO BUILD PRESSURES FOR MODERATION OF WESTERN AND NEUTRAL AMBITIONS, AND TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO CONCLUDE THE CONFERENCE QUICKLY, WITH A MINIMUM OF CONCESSIONS, WHEN THEY THINK THE TIME IS RIGHT. END COMMENT DALE

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